# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—In your Summary of Politics for the week ending the 7th of May, I observe a paragraph referring to Sir Henry Mildmay's motion upon the state of the navy, in which you again quote the promise made by Mr. Addington, on the 2d December last, in the following words: "What ap- "prehension can be felt for our safety, "when it is known, that by the *prudent* and "*wise* conduct of the First Lord of the "Admiralty, such arrangements were "made, that, in case of emergency, *fifty* "sail of the line can be prepared *for sea* "within one month, and even a larger "number, should the exigency be pressing. "Thus we are situated, *ready for any event.*" —The explanation which you represent Mr. Addington to have given respecting this promise, in answer to Sir Henry Mildmay, on the 4th ultimo, bears on the face of it such a glaring trait of dissimulation, if not of treachery, that I really cannot conceive the minister, incapable as he may be of his station, could have committed himself in such a gross manner to the House of Commons, to the nation, and even to the whole world. If you did not hear the explanatory words from Mr. Addington's lips yourself, I do hope and trust you will feel yourself called upon, in justice to the minister and for the credit of the country, to declare, that the quotation you have given from his speech, in answer to Sir Henry Mildmay, is incorrect, and that the reporter from whom you extracted it, has grossly misrepresented him.—If this be not the case, well may you exclaim, "What a shuf- "fle!" Indeed it would be a trick of the darkest hue. That any minister of any country should declare in the face of the world, that fifty sail of the line, "*ready for* "*sea*," means only "*fully rigged and fitted* "*out*," but without the "*complement of men*," is what I cannot yet credit.—Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that the quotation you have made from Mr. Addington's speech is correct, though while I feel myself, as I have already observed, under the necessity of doubting, is it possible to conceive, that Mr. Addington, or indeed any other public man, could be so completely ignorant of the nature of naval equipments, as to assert in the parliament of this maritime empire, that fifty sail of the line, "*ready for sea*," means only "*fully rigged* "*and fitted out*," but without the "*complement* "*of men.*' Such a palpable want of common understanding I do not wish to attribute to the meanest capacity; much less can I be inclined to think, that the first minister of the crown could entertain such a fallacious idea, or attempt to impose it upon the representatives of the people.—But, Sir, I am far more inclined to believe, that, instead of your quotation being correct, Mr. Addington must have said—If we have but *men*, *fifty* sail of the line will not only be ready for sea, but shall be actually at sea, in less than a month. Thus much Mr. Addington might have said with great truth and safety; indeed, he would have been perfectly correct, if he had taken a much shorter space of time for the equipment of such an armament, provided the ships were in a state fit for service; but this the injudicious measures of the Board of Admiralty have rendered totally the reverse.—The circumstance of ships being fully "*rigged and* "*fitted out*," but without "*men*," *would be worse than having none at all*; for without men to take care of them, their sails would be rotting and their stores spoiling, and the ships themselves in absolute danger of being driven from their anchors for want of hands to secure them in tempestuous weather. How often do we hear of our ships, when even completely manned, driving from their anchors, and experiencing the most imminent danger? So much, indeed, that many are under the necessity of calling for assistance.—It would be well if Mr Addington, or any other minister (whether your report be correct or not) would give himself the trouble to acquire a little theoretical knowledge, before he speaks on a professional subject, upon which he has not had any practical experience. The evils that arise from the assertions of men in high and dignified situations, when speaking upon professional subjects, of which they have no knowledge, are incalculable. For what

man, much less a professional man, could imagine that a declaration of a minister in parliament, that *fifty* ships of the line could be ready for sea in a month, simply meant "*rigged and fitted out*," but without "*men?*" Into what a false hope of security must the nation be lulled by such a declaration, and into what a state of despair must it be driven, when the threatening approach of the enemy to our shores should call forth an explanation, as you have ascribed to Mr. Addington, on this momentous and important subject?—Let it be supposed, the French could effect a landing and preserve a footing even but for a short time, in the vicinity of our naval arsenals, and were there to find *fifty* sail of the line, fully "*rigged and fitted out*," and of course without men, for with men the enemy never could have approached them; the consequence would be, that these *fifty* ships of the line would instantly be sent to the ports of France, from the very circumstance of their being equipped for sea; while the other ships which should be found in a state of ordinary, or unequipped, would, if not destroyed, be suffered to remain in our hands. Of the two, it would be far better that our whole marine should be destroyed, than that we should furnish the enemy with the means of our own subjugation.

*(to be continued)*

## PUBLIC PAPERS.

*Letter from Lieut. Gen. Mortier, commanding in chief the French army, in the Electorate of Hanover, to the French Minister at War.—Dated Head Quarters, Niewburg, June 4, 1803.*

CITIZEN MINISTER,—I had the honour to inform you, by my letter of the 28th ult. of the march of the French army towards Hanover. After a march excessively fatiguing across arid sands and marshy heaths, I took a position on the 31st before Weehte. I was assured that the enemy guarded the line of the Hunte. Gen. Hammerstein, commanding the advanced guard of the King of England, occupied Diepholtz with the second and sixth regiments of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and a division of artillery. I made my dispositions to dislodge him on the following morning. The second division commanded by Gen. Schiner, that of cavalry under the orders of Gen. Nansouty, received orders to march to Goldenstedt, to force the passage of the Hunte, and then march to Suhlingen, that they might cut off every thing they might find between that place and Diepholtz, which the division of Gen. Menrichard had orders briskly to attack. The enemy seeing that by this movement he was turned on his right, retired during the night to Bersten.—On the 1st inst. the advanced guard, commanded by Gen. Drouet, had a warm skirmish before Banver, with the rear-guard of the enemy. —On the 2d the army united before Suhlingen; the advanced guard moved towards Bersten; it here fell on with the enemy, and notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, and the extreme fatigue of the troops, who had that day marched twelve leagues, Gen. Drouet gave the order to attack. The enemy kept up a warm cannonade. Some squadrons of the second regiment of hussars charged with valour the light dragoons of the 9th regiment. They broke the line of that corps, who fled, and we took several prisoners.—I was informed by my spies, that the head of the bridge of Niewbourg was repaired, and that the enemy had collected all his artillery on the right bank of the Weser. I saw how important it was for me to precipitate my movement. I marched my reserve artillery, and I made all my dispositions to push and beat every thing before me in the Weser, to force the head of the bridge of Niewbourg, or to pass behind Stolznau, and intercept by that means the communication with the capital.—The troops were in march when the Civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover presented themselves before my advanced posts: they invited me to suspend my march, and announced to me that they were ready to make advantageous propositions.—My answer was in the negative; they returned to make me new propositions; I informed them I would listen to none, unless I had the certainty of immediately occupying the country of Hanover, and particularly all the strong places belonging to it. After a long discussion, they signed a convention, which I accepted under the condition that it should be ratified by the respective governments. You will see that the army of the King of England are prisoners of war, that I am master of the whole country, and particularly of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser.—I have given orders to seize all the vessels which are on those rivers. The Duke of Cambridge, the son of the King of England, and Governor of Hanover, judged it proper to give in his resignation before the battle, and to make his retreat in haste. He had, however, promised to die with the levy *en masse*; it is probable, that he will be embarked before we arrive at the mouth of the Elbe.—We found at Niewbourg 14,000 new muskets, and a good deal of artillery. According to the accounts rendered to me, I presume that I shall find in the magazines and places of Hanover about 100,000 muskets, and more than 1000 pieces of artillery.—I shall be the day after to-morrow in the City of Hanover, the continental capital of the King of England. I have found a considerable number of horses for remounting the cavalry, and furnishing the artillery. Much praise is due to the care and zeal of Gen. Dulauly.—I have the honour to salute you.

EDWARD MORTIER.

*Convention signed between Messrs. the Civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover and Lieutenant-General Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army.*

Art. 1. Hanover shall be occupied by the French army, as well as the forts dependent on it. —2. The Hanoverian troops shall retire behind the Elbe; they shall engage on their parole of honour not to commit any hostilities, or to bear arms against the French army or its allies, so long as the war shall continue between France and England. They shall not be released from this oath until after they have been exchanged against an equal number of French generals, officers, subalterns, soldiers, or sailors, who may happen to be at the disposal of England.—3. No individual of the Hanoverian troops shall quit the place assigned him, without information being given to the general commander in chief.—4. The Hanoverian army shall retire with the honours of war; the regiments shall take with them their field pieces.—5. The artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of every description, shall be placed at

the disposal of the French army.—6. All the effects whatsoever belonging to the King of England, shall be placed at the disposal of the French army.—7. All public monies shall be sequestrated, but that of the university shall be appropriated to its original object.—8. Every English soldier, or agent whatsoever, in the pay of England, shall be arrested by order of the general commander in chief, and sent into France.—9. The general commander in chief reserves to himself the power of making in the government, and authorities constituted by the Elector, such changes as he shall think proper.—10. All the French cavalry shall be remounted at the expense of Hanover; the electorate shall also provide for the pay, clothing, and food of the French army.—11. The worship of the different religions shall be maintained on the present footing.—12. All persons, and all the property and families of Hanoverian officers, shall be under the safeguard of French honour.—13. All the revenues of the country, as well as the electoral domains, and the public contributions, shall be at the disposal of the French government. The engagements already made shall be respected.—14. The present government of the electorate shall abstain from exercising any species of authority throughout the country occupied by the French troops.—15. The general commander in chief shall levy on the electorate of Hanover such contribution as he shall think necessary for the wants of the army.—16. Every article on which doubts shall arise, shall be interpreted favourably to the inhabitants of the electorate.—17. The preceding articles shall not prejudice the stipulations which may be agreed upon in favour of the electorate, between the First Consul and any Mediating Power.

*Done at the Head Quarters at Suhlingen, the 3d of June*, 1803.—(*Saving the approbation of the First Consul*)

Ed. Mortier, *Lieutenant-General, Commander in Chief.*—F. de Bremer, *Judge of the Electoral Court of Justice and, Provincial Counsellor.*—G. De Boch, *Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Regiment of Electoral Body Guards.*

## FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

*Orders issued at Hanover, addressed to the Magistrates, &c. &c. on the 31st of May*, 1803.

As we understand that many of the Magistrates and Public Officers of the country wish to receive directions in what manner to conduct themselves, should French troops advance near the frontiers of this territory, we recommend to them in general—1. That they regulate especially their whole conduct on the principle of the strictest neutrality, which it belongs to this territory to maintain, as entirely independent of the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and a completely separate possession, according to the constitution of the Empire, and the guarantee of the treaty of Luneville.—2. That they readily furnish whatever may be required of them; as it is hoped only on the frontiers, and—3. That they on no account desert their offices and posts, but remain in them, and faithfully fulfill their duty.

C. A. R. Count Von Kielmansegge.

*Circular Letter from the First Consul of France to the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of that country.—Dated 7th June*, 1803.

Sir,—The motives of the present war are known to all Europe. The bad faith of the King of England, who has violated the sanctity of treaties, in refusing to restore Malta to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who has attacked our merchant ships without any previous declaration of war, the necessity of a just defence, every thing obliges us to resort to arms. I, therefore, write you this letter to tell you, that I wish you to offer up prayers to obtain the blessing of Heaven upon our enterprises. The proofs I have received of your zeal for the service of the state, assure me that you will conform with pleasure to my intentions.

Buonaparté.

## FOREIGN.

*Rome, May* 16.—His Holiness held a secret consistory this day, at the Quirinal Palace, when *Joseph Charles Lor*, of Norogna and Abranches, grandee of the kingdom and head of the patriarchal church of Lisbon, was created *Cardinal.*

*Petersbourg, May* 26.—The hundredth anniversary of the foundation of this city, by Peter the Great, was celebrated here on the 24th inst. with the greatest solemnity.

*Naples, May* 28.—The approaching contest between England and France has created the greatest alarm throughout the dominions of his Neapolitan Majesty, who is said to have applied to the Emperor of Russia for security.

*Berlin, May* 29.—A few days ago, *M. de César* departed on his embassy from his Majesty to the Batavian Republic.

*Hague, June* 2.—The Legislative Body of the Batavian Republic terminated its session yesterday. Cit. *Heldewier* was nominated President of the extraordinary sittings which may take place previous to a new convocation. To-day a message was sent from the government requiring an extraordinary session. The Legislative Assembly adjourned to the 14th inst.

*Paris, June* 11.—Addresses come pouring in daily from all parts of France to the First Consul, assuring him of support in the war against England.—The city of Rouen has voted a 74 gun ship for the government—Voluntary subscriptions for building gun boats, &c. are made with great liberality.

## DOMESTIC.

### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

The Gazette of Saturday, June 11, contains an Order in Council for prolonging, to the 1st of January, 1804, the Order of the 13th July 1801, which declared the Port of La Valetta, in the Island of Malta to be free to the subjects of all states in amity with His Majesty.

*Carlton House, June* 3, 1803.—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been pleased to appoint the Reverend Charles Barker, B. D. Sub-Dean and Canon-Residentiary of Wells, to be one of His Royal Highness's Chaplains in Ordinary.

*Whitehall, June* 14, 1803.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz.——Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of Great Oakley, in the county of Northampton, and of Ahadoe and Roborough, in the county of Cork, Esq.—The Right Honourable John Stewart, of Athenree, in the county of Tyrone.—The Rev. James Stronge, Clerk, Master of Arts, of Tynan, in the county of Armagh, and of Thornhill, in the county of Dublin.

*Crown Office, June* 14, 1803.—Member returned

to serve in this present Parliament—Town of Nottingham—Daniel Parker Coke, Esq. in the room of Joseph Birch, Esq. whose election for the said town has been determined to be void.

*Nottingham, June* 6.—At the close of the poll, this evening, for the election of member of parliament, Mr. BIRCH had 1165 votes, and Mr. COKE 1355. Majority in favour of Mr. COKE 190. Mr. Birch having consulted his friends gave up the contest. The town was very quiet.

*London, June* 10.—The LORD MAYOR held a ward-mote this day, in the ward of Bridge, for the election of an alderman in the room of GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq. resigned, when Sir MATTHEW BLOXMAN was elected.—*June* 11. Capt. JAMES BOWEN, Capt. THOMAS HAMILTON, and Mr. E. BOUVERIE have been recently appointed to the Transport Board.—The Right Hon. JOHN STEWART, late attorney-general for Ireland, has resigned, and is succeeded by STANDISH O'GRADY, Esq.—*June* 14. Yesterday morning at ten o'clock the gentlemen who intended to bid for the loan, waited upon the minister at his house in Downing-street. The biddings were as follow:—Messrs. ESDAILE and Mr. SHEWELL, L. 0 6 5 Long Ann.—GOLDSMID and Co. 0 8 4 Ditto.——BARING and Co. 0 8 4 Ditto.——The BANKERS, 0 12 3 Ditto.——The STOCK EXCHANGE, 0 12 3 Ditto.——Messrs. ESDAILE and SHEWELL, of course, had the loan.—The following was the rate at which the loan was taken:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 80l. 3 per Cent. Consols, at 58½ the price of Saturday | 46 | 14 | 0 |
| 80l. 3 per Cent. Red. at the same price | 46 | 14 | 0 |
| 6s. 5d. Long Ann. at 17½ years purchase | 5 | 12 | 3 |
| Discount | 2 | 6 | 3 |
| | L.101 | 6 | 6 |

The Bonus to the contractors is consequently 1l. 6s. 6d. and the interest on the whole 5l. 2s. 3d.—*June* 15. Their R. Highnesses the DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, and PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER, came to town yesterday from Yarmouth, where they had arrived on Monday, in the Amethyst frigate from the Elbe.—Mr. LISTON and his suite arrived on the same day at Yarmouth, from the Hague.—M. SCHIMMELPENNINCK has obtained his passports, and leaves London to-day.

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PARLIAMENTARY MINUTES, *from p.* 875.

*Wednesday, June* 8.——LORDS.—Counsel heard on the Scotch Appeal, Lothian, &c. v. Henderson, &c. which, after a speech from the Lord Chancellor, was postponed to April 1.——Earl of *Clanricarde* took his seat.——Bills before the House forwarded.——Message to Commons to request a copy of the report concerning the Highlands of Scotland. Oaths administered to—*Bolchar*, and Bill for his naturalization read second time.—Adjourned.——COMMONS.—Weaver's Bill postponed to Friday.——Ordnance Dépôt Bill read, and ordered for second reading to-morrow.—Fish Company Bill ordered for second reading on Tuesday.—Two Bills on Consolidation read and ordered for second reading to-morrow.——Soldier's Relief Bill passed.—— Report of Committee on accommodation of Merchants brought up. Resolutions agreed to, and Committee on Consolidation Bill instructed to make provision accordingly.—— Notice of motion, on Friday next, for additional seamen.——Estimates of Transport service, prisoners of war, &c. laid on table.——After some conversation, second reading of Bill for amending Turnpike act, negatived.——Notice of motion, to-morrow, for leave to bring in a Bill to discharge professional Seamen from Militia.——Committee on Militia Pay Bill, report received, and Bill ordered to be printed.——Irish army estimates laid on table and ordered for Friday.——Motion for leave to bring in a Bill to prevent destruction of shipping in Ireland, and another to regulate collection of revenue in Ireland, postponed till to-morrow.——Exchequer Bill Bill read second time and committed for to-morrow.——Committees of Supply, and Ways and Means postponed till Friday.——Adjourned.

*Thursday, June* 9.——LORDS.—Counsel heard on Appeal from Court of Chancery, Thellusson v. Woodford, postponed till Tuesday.——Ship destroying, Supplementary Militia, Soldiers' and Seamen's Relief Bills, and several private Bills brought from Commons.—Chandos Peerage, after some conversation between Lords Hawke and Walsingham, Bishop of St. Asaph, Earl Roslin, H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, and the Lord Chancellor, postponed till Monday.—Bills on table forwarded.—Adjourned.——COMMONS.—Message from Lords stating their agreement to Land Tax regulation Bill and several private bills.—Reports respecting Highlands of Scotland ordered to be transmitted to Lords, agreeably to their request.——Port of London Bill read second time and committed for Tuesday.——Motion on petitions of distillers postponed.——Committee on Consolidation Duty Bill postponed till to-morrow.—Gen. Gascoyne gave notice of two motions in Committee to-morrow, 1. to extend tonnage duty to Ireland, 2. that no import duty should be greater in the outports than in London.——Accounts respecting the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland laid on table.——On motion of Mr. Corry, leave given to bring in a Bill to prevent destruction of Shipping in Ireland, and another to regulate collection of revenue in Ireland ——Assessed Tax Consolidation Bill, and Assessed Tax Collection Bill read second time and committed for to-morrow.—Committee on Exchequer Bills Bill, report to be received to-morrow.——Leave granted, on motion of Secretary of War, to bring in a Bill to allow Seamen in Militia to enter in the Navy.—— Bill brought in, read and ordered for second reading to-morrow.—— Report of Committee to prepare an estimate of the pay and clothing of the Irish Militia laid on table.——Malicious Shooting Bill read and ordered for second reading to-morrow.——Committees on Medicine Duty Bill, and East-India Shipping Bill postponed till to-morrow.—Adjourned.

*Friday, June* 10.——LORDS.—Foote's Divorce Bill read second time, and, after some conversation, committed for Monday.——Several private Bills from Commons read.——On motion for committee on the Clergy Non-Residence Bill, the bishops of St. Asaph, and Oxford, and Lord Auckland, entered into a long discussion of the bill itself. Earl Carnarvon spoke to order, and after some conversation, the commitment of the bill was postponed till Monday.—Earl Suffolk moved to postpone Chandos Peerage till Tuesday; after some conversation between his Lordship, the Lord Chancellor, and H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, motion withdrawn.——Bills on table forwarded.—Adjourned. ——COMMONS.—Message from Lords stating their assent to National Defence Bill and several private bills.——Papers relative to Irish distilleries laid on table.——Report of Committee on the relief of wives and children of Scotch Militia brought up, and committed for Monday.——On motion of Lord G enbervie, ad-

dress to his Majesty, ordered, praying for account of proceedings of Commissioners under Land Tax Redemption Act.——Petition from debtors in four Courts, Marshalsea, Dublin, laid on table.—Report of Commitee on Exchequer Bills bill read, agreed to, and bill ordered for third reading to-morrow.——Committee on Bills relative to consolidation and collection of assessed taxes, reports ordered to-morrow.——Militia Transfer Bill read second time and committed for Monday.—Notice for motion, on Monday, for grant of money for new roads in Highlands of Scotland. Committee of Supply, Sir Philip Stephens moved for an additional vote of 40,000 seamen, including 8,000 marines for seven months, which, after some conversation between Col. Wood, Mr. Bastard, Lord Temple, the Secretary at War, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was agreed to. The following sums were also voted.—£518,000 for wages,—£532,000 for victuals,—£840,000 for wear and tear of vessels,—£70,000 ordnance for sea-service,—£300,000 for the transport service,—£65,000 for the maintenance of prisoners of war,—£29,000 for the sick,—£54,900 7*s.* 3*d.* for the barrack department of Ireland.——Mr. Corry moved for provision for paying and clothing the Irish Militia.—Report ordered Monday.—Irish First Fruits Bill read, ordered to be printed and read second time Monday.——On motion for the Committee on the Consolidation Duty Bill some conversation took place between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lords Temple and Gower, Alderman Combe, and Mr. Macnamara. Gen. Gascoyne, moved "that it be an instruction to the Committee that the principle of the tonnage duty be "extended to Ireland."—Speaker declared the motion irregular. Gen. Gascoyne then moved as another instruction to the Committee "that no "greater duty should be laid on the out-ports by "the present bill, than on the port of London." On a suggestion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the motion was withdrawn.——In Committee, after some observations by Messrs. Vansittart, Walpole, Kinnaird, and Bragge, the Lord Mayor of London, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Gen. Gascoyne, part of the bill was agreed to.——Irish Ship Burning Bill read and ordered for second reading to-morrow.——Second reading of Bribery Oath Bill postponed till Tuesday, Committee of Ways and Means till Monday, and East India Ship Bill till to-morrow.——Adjourned.

*Saturday, June* 11.——LORDS.—Private business disposed of.——Royal assent given by commission to sixty one bills, public, local, and private: among them were General Defence Bill, Land Tax Redemption, Corn Exporters' Indemnity, Irish Law Courts, Scotch Schoolmasters, English Militia, Cork and Sligo harbours, and Markham's Divorce Bills.—Bills on table forwarded.—Adjourned.——COMMONS.——House attended Lords, where Royal assent was given to various bills.—Committee on commercial accommodation. On motion of Mr. Vansittart, after some conversation, agreed that £80 be laid on every £100 porcelain imported, 15*s.* on every lb. of opium imported from the place of its growth, with a drawback of 6*s.* on exportation, 12*s.* 6*d.* on every lb not imported from East-Indies, and 5*s.* on exportation.—Resolutions agreed to and report ordered Monday.—Consolidation Tax Bills reported and ordered Monday.—Report Committee of Supply, after some conversation between Mr. Elliot, Sir Philip Stephens, and Col. Bagwell, agreed to.—Exchequer Bills bill passed.—Irish Ship Burning Bill read second time and committed for Monday.—Adjourned.

*Monday, June* 13.——LORDS.—Committee on Chandos Peerage. After some discussion, decided that the *Rev. Mr. Brydges* had not made good his claim to that peerage. Contents 15, Non Contents 7. Majority 8.—Report ordered Friday.—Counsel on Foote's Divorce Bill.—Clergy Non Residence Bill deferred till to-morrow.—Third report of Commissioners Naval enquiry laid on table.—Bills forwarded.——Adjourned.——COMMONS.—Writ moved for Newport, Cornwall, in room of J. Richardson, Esq. deceased.—Accounts laid on table by Chamberlain of London.—Irish Revenue collecting Bill brought in, read, ordered for second reading to morrow, and to be printed.—Committee on Scotch Militia report for to-morrow.——Maliciously Maiming Bill and Irish Ship Burning Bill read second time and committed for to-morrow.—Report of Committee on Consolidation Custom Bill read and agreed to.——Leave granted, on motion of Mr. Vansittart, to bring in a bill for employing foreign seamen on board British ships.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward *the Budget*. He said, that, in consistency with the assurances, which the House had given his Majesty, of support in the present contest, it now behoved them to make the efforts, which were absolutely necessary for that purpose. We are, said he, called on to summon all our fortitude, and to put forth all our force; but, to make these efforts, we must submit to great privations, and unusual inconveniencies; to make even great and extensive sacrifices. We had an enemy to contend with that had calculated the means as well as the circumstances of our exertions, and had built hopes of overcoming us by the length of a contest. It was therefore necessary for us to be prepared, not only for a vigorous, but for a protracted contest. This was a system which was not less consistent with the calculation of the coldest prudence, than due to the fortitude and wisdom of a great and powerful people. It was upon opinions such as these, and with reference to such a system as that to which he had adverted, that he felt it his duty to propose a plan which he was now about to submit to the Committee; and having stated generally the principle upon which the plan was founded, he should enter upon the particulars, first with a reference to supplies voted, and those remaining to be voted; after which he should state the Ways and Means by which, (according to the best consideration and reflection he had been able to give) it was desirable the supply should be raised. The following were the heads.

## SUPPLY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Navy (inclusive of Ordnance for Sea Service) | 10,021,000 |
| Army | 8,721,849 |
| Army Extraordinaries, to be voted on a future day | 2,000,000 |
| Extraordinaries of the preceding year | 1,032,151 |
| Ordnance | 1,280,000 |
| Vote of Credit | 2,000,000 |
| Corn Bounties | 524,000 |
| Miscellaneous Services | 1,300,000 |
| Total | 26,879,000 |

Joint Charges of Great Britain and Ireland.

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

| | |
|---|---|
| Deficiency of Malt | 118,842 |
| Deficiency of Ways and Means last year | 171,435 |

| | |
|---|---|
| We had also to pay under the provisions of a treaty between us and the United States of America, entered into in the year 1794 ..... | 330,000 |
| And it would appear by the accounts on the table, that there was an engagement subsisting between Government and the East India Company, in consequence of expeditions carried on on the Continent, on which there was a considerable balance, for which he proposed to vote | 1,000,000 |
| Exchequer Bills already voted..... | 2,781,000 |
| Interest on ditto ..... | 920,000 |
| Remains of Exchequer Bills of 1798, advanced by the Bank..... | 1,500,000 |
| Total separate charge of Great Britain | 6,821,679 |
| Total of the Supplies ..... | 33,730,679 |
| Two seventeenths for Ireland..... 3,162,235 | |
| Additional for Civil List, &c. 170,224 | |
| For Ireland,..... | 3,332,459 |
| Leaving on account of England for Supply,..... | 30,398,220 |

## WAYS AND MEANS.

The means of providing this sum will, said he, consist of three parts. The taxes voted annually —the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, and issue of Exchequer Bills; and lastly, an augmentation of the duties of Excise and Customs, and a separate tax on Property. The last I wish to be considered solely as resource applicable to the war. The Ways and Means then will be as follows:—

### WAYS AND MEANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Land and Malt voted annually..... | 2,750,000 |
| Exchequer Bills—Although authority has been given by Parliament for an issue of 4 millions, take only .... | 3,000,000 |
| Surplus of the Consolidated Fund.... | 6,500,000 |

Before Christmas I ventured to calculate upon this sum as the produce of the Consolidated Fund. That calculation was formed upon the estimate and returns, as far as then ascertained, of the taxes laid in 1802, and it is fully justified by the accounts now upon the table. This, however, is not the proper time to enter into a discussion of the correctness of the estimate, because I do not now ask the Committee for a vote upon the subject. I merely submit the statement as part of the means for raising the resources of the year. When it comes to be voted it may be inquired how far the amount is likely to accord with the estimate.

| | |
|---|---|
| It is proposed to liquidate certain advances made by the Bank by an issue of Exchequer Bills, which, it is hoped, that the Bank, with that spirit of accommodation to the public service which they displayed last war, will from the same motive, be now inclined to accept. The Debt due to the Bank on this head would therefore be paid by an issue of Exchequer Bills, on aids of 1804, to that extent..... | 1,500,000 |
| Money in Treasury, residue of Bounties on Hemp, &c..... | 37,782 |
| Lottery ..... | 400,000 |

I now come to the Ways and Means by which I propose to raise the amount of the sum which I have stated to be necessary for the service of the year. The three great objects to which I look as the sources of this revenue are the Excise and Custom Duties, on which I intend to submit to the Committee a large augmentation; and a tax upon property. If it should be the pleasure of the Committee to agree with me as to the propriety, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I consider these duties as applicable to war only, and I intend to propose that they should cease within a certain period, probably six months after the restoration of peace.

### CUSTOMS.

| | |
|---|---|
| IMPORTS.—An increased Duty on *Sugar* imported, of 20 per cent. on the duty now paid; and an increased duty of 12½ per cent. on the duty now paid, on other goods imported; with the exception of Cotton-Wool, Tea, and Wine..... | 1,300,000 |
| EXPORTS.—On all Articles exported to any part of Europe, a duty of 1 per cent. *ad valorem*, and, to any other part of the world, a duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem*..... | 460,000 |
| On Cotton-Wool exported 1 penny in the lb..... | 250,000 |
| *Tonnage.*—An additional Duty on Tonnage ..... | 150,000 |
| | 2,160,000 |
| Deduct increase of drawbacks..... | 160,000 |
| Produce of Customs..... | 2,000,000 |

### EXCISE.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tea.*—An additional 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on the lower sorts, and 45 per cent. *ad valorem* on the higher* | 1,300,000 |
| *Wine.*—An additional duty of £10 per Pipe ..... | 500,000 |
| *Spirits.*—50 per cent. on the present duty on all Foreign and British Spirits..... | 1,500,000 |
| *Malt.*—Additional Duty of two Shillings a bushel ..... | 2,700,000 |
| | 6,000,000 |

### RENTS AND FUNDS.

| | |
|---|---|
| A Tax of 1 Shilling in the Pound, on the actual rent of all Land in England, to be paid by the Land Owner, and 9d in the Pound, to be paid by the Tenant. In Scotland, the Tenant to pay only 6d in the Pound. Besides this a tax of 5 per cent. on the net produce of all Trades and Professions; and also of 5 per cent. upon the dividends due on the public funds, except upon such dividends as are due to Foreigners residing out of this country ..... | 4,500,000 |

With regard, said he, to that species of property arising from Government Securities, I know

* It has already been charged to 45 per cent. on all sorts of tea.

perfectly well the delicacy which has always been felt upon this subject, but I am sure that it will not be expected, at the present time, that that kind of property should not be called upon to bear its share in the general contribution, when every other species is called upon to contribute so heavily. The question now is, not what species of property shall be exempted, but in what proportion each species shall contribute? It certainly is intended that this kind of property shall be made contributory, though it is not in every instance. I mean, however, now to propose, that all persons possessing property in the Funds shall be required to make returns to Commissioners by whom this Bill is to be carried into execution. These Commissioners will not be all of them resident in London, as under the Income Bill, but they will be appointed in different parts of the country. They are to have the same powers for certain purposes as the Commercial Commissioners. All persons having property in the Funds are to lay their accounts before these Commissioners; and if they do not do it before a certain day, they will be held to have made their election, in which case provision is made that they shall be charged in another way. It will be understood that no person can be charged except according to the first provisions to which I have alluded, unless it is by his own choice. If the persons do not make their returns to the Commissioners at a proper time, then, and in that case only, the provisions are to be executed at the Bank. All agents for Foreigners, and persons not being British subjects, having property in the Funds will be exempted: the Committee will feel that they could not with justice have been included in this *impost*. When I say Foreigners, I mean those not resident in England.——I shall now, for the sake of clearness, give a summary recapitulation of the taxes.

| | |
|---|---|
| On the Custom Duties..... | £2,000,000 |
| On the Excise Duties ..... | 6,000,000 |
| On the Land and Property..... | 4,500,000 |
| Making in all ..... | 12 500,000 |

The Committee, however, must be aware, that though Parliament may determine to raise so large a part of the supplies for the service of the year, yet it must be obvious, that a very considerable part of this sum cannot be raised within the *present* year. I will, therefore, only calculate upon the sum to be produced by these taxes in this year, at 4,500,000l. there would then remain, 10,000,000l. to be provided for the service of the present year; this sum must be raised by way of

LOAN,

and I have this day entered into an agreement with some respectable Bankers of the City of London, for a Loan for 12,000,000l. 10,000,000l. of which was for England, on the following terms:—For every 100l. 80l. 3 per cent. Consols, which at 58½ the price of Saturday, would be 46l. 14s. 0d.—80l. reduced at the same price, 46l. 14s. 0d. The bidding was upon the Long Annuities; they were taken at 6s. 5d. which at 17 years and a half purchase, was 5l. 12s. 3d.—The discount was 2l. 6s. 3d. which made the whole amount 101l. 6s. 6d. The bonus to the Contractors is therefore 1l. 6s. 6d. and the interest to be paid by the Public, 5l. 2s. 3d. per cent. I have to congratulate the House, I have to congratulate the Country, that, under such circumstances, so beneficial a bargain has been made; and I am convinced it will be found no less advantageous to the persons contracting than to the public. But I am the more disposed to congratulate the House on this bargain, because there are very few instances of any contract ever having been made on terms equally advantageous with a reference to the price of stocks. There were indeed only two instances of bargains in which the advantage to the public had been greater. Those instances occurred in the years 1799 and 1800. In the first of these years the Government had a clear premium of 6s. 7d. and in 1800 the bonus was 10s. 5d. These were, in fact, the only instances in which the public had derived more advantage from the terms of the Loan than the present. But in what circumstances were those Loans made? The first took place under the operation of that Act, which was the first attempt to raise a considerable proportion of the Supplies within the year. The second took place under the actual operation of the Income Tax. These were years too, in which all the taxes, which can be regarded as the best criterions of the prosperity of a country, were the most productive. What inference is to be drawn from this fact? Is it not evident that those wise measures inspired confidence in those who were willing to become the creditors of the country? These examples are therefore sufficient to encourage us to follow the same system now, which cannot fail to be attended by similar beneficial effects. I have now to state the means by which I propose to provide for the Interest of the Loan.—I mean the 10 millions for Great-Britain, which create a capital of above 32 millions of stock, and the interest on which amounts

| | |
|---|---|
| to ..... | 480,000 |
| To which add the Charges for Management, and one per Cent. for the Sinking Fund ..... | 190,000 |
| And the whole sum to be provided for will be ..... | 670,589 |

"This sum I propose to raise by an increase of the duties on certain articles of the Customs, which I have calculated, will amount to 240,000l. The increase in consequence of the consolidation of the Assessed Taxes will amount to 220,000l. But there will still be a considerable sum wanting. The measure by which I propose to make it up is one which has often been recommended. I mean a change in the mode of collecting the Receipt Tax. I mean to propose, that in all cases where money is to be paid, it shall be competent for the person paying to demand a stamp from him who is paid. The price of the stamp used, it is intended, shall bear a very minute relation to the sum paid; but that in no one instance shall it be less than 2d. or more than 5s. The produce of this regulation I estimate at 220,000l. Those three sources of revenue will produce 690,000l. applicable to the payment of the above 670,589l. being the amount of the interest and expenses on the Loan. I shall now recapitulate the different heads of Supply and Ways and Means.

SUPPLY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Navy (exclusive of Ordnance for Sea Service) ..... | 10.021,000 |
| Army..... | 8,721,849 |
| Army Extraordinaries, to be voted .. | 2,000,000 |
| Extraordinaries of the preceding year remaining unprovided for ..... | 1,012,851 |
| Ordnance ..... | 1,280,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Vote of Credit | 2,000,000 |
| Corn Bounties | 524,000 |
| Miscellaneous Services | 1,[illegible]00,000 |
| Total | 26,879,000 |

Joint Charge of Great-Britain and Ireland.

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT-BRITAIN.

| | |
|---|---|
| Deficiency of the Malt Duty | 118,840 |
| Deficiency of Ways and Means | 171,431 |
| American Commissioners | 330,000 |
| Expedition, East-India Company | 1,000,000 |
| Exchequer Bills | 2,781,000 |
| Interest on ditto | 920,408 |
| Exchequer Bills remaining of 1798 | 1 500,000 |
| Total separate Charges of Great-Britain | 6,821,679 |
| Total Supplies | 33,730,679 |
| Two Seventeenths for Ireland | 3,162,235 |
| Additional on account of Civil List, &c. | 170,224 |
| For Ireland | 3,332,459 |
| Supplies to be provided for | 30,398,220 |

WAYS AND MEANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Malt Duty, Tax on Pensions, &c. and remains of Land Tax | 2,750,000 |
| Exchequer Bills | 5,000,000 |
| Surplus Consolidated Fund 1804 | 6,500,000 |
| Exchequer Bills for Bank Advances | 1,500,000 |
| Bounties remaining in Exchequer | 37,782 |
| Lottery | 400,000 |
| Loan | 10,000,000 |
| Produce of the new Taxes in the present year | 4,500,000 |
| | 30,687,782 |
| Supplies | 30,398,220 |
| Overplus | 289,562 |

The Committee will perceive that the great object I have in view is to raise a large part of the Supplies within the year. The extent to which I wish to carry this principle is this, that there shall be *no increase whatever of the Public Debt during the course of the war.* In the first place it will be necessary to ascertain the probable amount of the annual charges of the War, and then to make provisions for carrying on a vigorous and *even protracted contest*, without making any greater addition to the Public Debt *than what will be annually liquidated by the Sinking Fund.* The annual Charge of the War, unless demands should be made upon us by the intervention of Foreign Powers who may wish to make a common cause with us, I think will not exceed 26,000,000l. I do not mean to deny that this is a great, an enormous sum, but certainly not greater than the object for which we have now to contend. If then the House think fit to adopt the measure I am now proposing, if I am right in my estimate of the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, which I have considered at about six millions, and if my calculation of the Annual Taxes be correct, which I have estimated at 12,500,000l. but which for this purpose I will only take at 10,000,000l. there will only remain a sum of 6,000,000l. to be borrowed, which will be more than covered by the Sinking Fund, which now produces considerably more than six millions. The growing produce of the Consolidated Fund is also likely to increase unless we are again visited by those calamities with which the country has been afflicted. If then my calculations are correct, we shall be enabled to meet a War Expenditure of Twenty-six Millions without any increase to the Public Debt, an object so desirable that no difference of opinion can be entertained upon the subject. I trust, therefore, this system will be adopted; it is one which has been before tried, and of which the effect is known: it has inspired confidence at home and created respect abroad.—— But the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be a difference in another respect, the difference between a temporary and a permanent tax: it will have another effect also, that of convincing the enemy of this country, that it is hopeless for him to contend with our finances, that it is not in his power to affect us in that respect:—it will have a still farther effect, that of convincing the other Powers of Europe, that they may safely join with us in a common cause of resistance against the common enemy, for that the resources of this country are such as to give full security for the punctual discharge of any engagement it may enter into, and this is an object for which I have in view some provisions. I will not fatigue the Committee, by stating all the advantages of such a system; they are such as the necessity of the times exact of us, and similar efforts are to be found in early periods of our history. I desire the Committee to look at the mode adopted for raising the Supplies for the service of the year: they will find on Land a considerable duty imposed, as well as upon Personal Property. They will find, at an early period of our history, taxes were raised within the year on all descriptions of property, descending even to the wages of Servants. To illustrate this I will refer to the times of King William and Queen Anne, when the Funding System was first introduced; let it be recollected, that then not only 4s. in the pound on Land was imposed, but also 50s. per cent. on stock in trade; 5s. on all salaries, offices, perquisites or pensions; 4s. in the pound on all annuities and pensions, and all persons of any profession were charged 4s. in the pound for that which was received or got by any practices, or emolument whatsoever. It is to be recollected that these times, although they were arduous, and the object for which we were then contending was considerable, yet they were minor to the objects which we have now in view, and therefore the exertions which we now make ought to be so much the greater. That was a great and a glorious period in the history of this country, but not so great as the present, the contest being very different, *for the present contest is for the existence of this country as a free state, and the question now is, whether we shall maintain and support that existence, or whether we shall abandon the people of this land as a prey to the French?* Our prospects with regard to revenue, are most flattering. It has been increasing progressively from 1792 to the year 1803. In the year 1792 the permanent taxes were 14,260,000l. but on the 5th of April 1803, the permanent taxes of that period were 15,994,000l. increasing in those eleven years, in permanent taxes, upwards of 1,700,000l.; but this is not all, the permanent taxes of this country which were imposed during the War, have been productive in an equal degree. In the year 1793 they greatly exceeded the amount of the charges for which they were provided. The taxes of the last year were levied

for the purpose of providing for a charge of 3,200,000*l.* and they have been found to yield a revenue of five millions; nor am I speaking this upon conjecture, for the ground of this calculation I now hold in my hand. There is an increase in the last year, of 1,700,000*l.* beyond the amount of the charge for which the taxes were raised.—During that period, and even at the present moment, we have increased and are increasing in our internal strength; we have not only increased last year, as a year of peace, but it is evident we have been increasing from year to year, from 1792 down to the present time, even in a period of war;—neither is this speaking on conjecture, for it is manifest, by the accounts which are now upon the table, the particulars of which I will not now recapitulate. We have besides this, and which is a most consolatory prospect, the benefit of the operation of that great system, that sheet-anchor of this country, the system which has been long adopted for the gradual reduction of the debt, which is a capital operation for the benefit of the public, *an operation which carries with it this singular advantage, that it executes its purposes for our relief* IN PROPORTION TO OUR PRESSURE, *and its operation is felt even during the war*; and if the system which I am now about to recommend shall be adopted, we shall not only provide for our expenditure within the year, but *we shall have a gradual diminution, even during the war, of the public debt.* Now I apprehend that in the support of such a system, all descriptions and classes of the community are interested; I have, therefore, thought it incumbent on me to propose such modes for raising the supplies, as are likely to be effectual, even though I know part of them will bear hard on that part of the community which I should most rejoice to spare: but such are the circumstances in which they are involved, and so well convinced are all classes of the community of the necessity of making great exertions at the present moment, that I am persuaded the poorest peasant in the country feels a deep interest in our present contest, and that he will readily yield a part of his present pittance, rather than see his country trampled on; *for the question now is* (and every peasant in the country is convinced of it, as well as those of the highest rank), *whether Great Britain shall continue her present power and estimation in the scale of nations, or make an item in the catalogue of the conquests of France:* I am, therefore, prepared not only to express hope, but a confident expectation, that all classes of the community will see the necessity of our preparing not only for a vigorous, but also *for a protracted war.* It is on this principle that I propose the present measures. I remember what was said by a GREAT PERSON (Mr. Fox) upon a former occasion, when he was asked, what interest a person, who was reading a stamped paper by a taxed rush-light, had in maintaining a share in the balance of the power of Europe? To which he answered, that the proportion he paid for his rush-light and his paper, he felt to be no more than his share, in preserving his rights, to enjoy them and all the other advantages which belonged to freedom. Not will I hurt the feelings of gentlemen, by supposing they do not feel it as much as the poor man; nor do I believe that the lower orders of the people imagine that they are not as deeply interested as the higher, in the present contest. I believe, indeed, that the lower classes of the community feel more warmth in the present case than many gentlemen imagine, for it must be remembered that the mass of both the army and navy is composed of them, and that to their exertions (in conjunction with the skill of their commanders) our victories by a Nelson and an Abercromby. Nor must we ever forget that it is to their ardour and enthusiasm that every thing is and must continue to be owing. It therefore must always be admitted, that the lower classes of the community have a deep interest, and I am persuaded they have a feeling for the welfare of their country. It is with this sentiment and with this feeling, that I venture to recommend the adoption of measures which must fall in some degree hard upon that class of the community. Whether the system I propose, shall appear practicable, will be for the wisdom of the House to determine; but, it has been planned from an earnest wish on my part to diffuse over every part of the community, the burthens which must be now borne, not to afford any ground of complaint to any class, that they are disproportionably burthened, neither one class improperly pressed upon, nor another improperly spared. I have endeavoured to make all contribute their just proportion, but I do not call upon the rich, for such a system would be impracticable. To be efficient, the impost must be general, and must be made to affect all classes and descriptions of persons in the country. It has been expected, that whenever applications were made to the liberality of Parliament for large supplies to support government, something should be said on the conduct of such government. I am aware, however, that the committee will not expect from me many declarations on this subject. I feel it a duty to make great exertion. I trust it will appear upon a full examination of the conduct of government that ministers have not been negligent. I will not expatiate on what ministers intend to do, but I will say generally, it is their wish to avoid extremes; to avoid any thing that may endanger our honour—not to plunge the nation into a war of extermination, nor to submit to any humiliation: to hold out that we enter into the war with reluctance, but have no fear of the issue: that ministers ask assistance, not because they wish to go to war, but because we are at war; and *that we are at war because we cannot be at peace:* that our object is peace on fair and honourable terms; *but that we have no means of obtaining peace but by great exertions in support of war:* this is the principle on which we appeal to the patriotism of Parliament. We are acting on a principle of firmness, for the support of the dignity of the King and the true interests of His people: we will endeavour to maintain dignity without arrogance, and also endeavour to shew moderation without pusillanimity. I know that many imputations have been cast upon ministers which they do not deserve, and I know it requires fortitude to bear unmerited obloquy, but I shall I hope never be wanting in the performance of my duty, on account of any imputation endeavoured to be cast upon me.—I will ask, whether persons acting on such a system are persons to be distrusted? I have brought forward the present measure, from a conviction of its necessity in itself, not for the purpose of shewing, that the charge of the want of firmness and energy made against ministers are unfounded:—So far from it, that I beg to remind the committee, when the Income Bill was repealed, I expressed an entire approbation of the principle of it as a war tax, and observed how much the public were indebted to my Right Hon. Friend for bringing it forward. I expressed my admiration of the system proposed by my Right Hon. Friend, a system to which, with some modifications, I said, we must recur in the event of a war.—All the members of

the committee will attest the truth of this declaration.—I hope, therefore, I shall hear of no more of such charges as, that I and my colleagues have been seeking popularity at the expense of prudence. I beg pardon for calling the attention of the Committee to *so insignificant an individual as myself*, but I think these observations have been extorted from me. To conclude, I desire, every one to reflect on the great scene before us, in which we have *an opportunity of making an effort that will render our name illustrious for ever:* to reflect that the resources of the country are happily equal to its mighty object, an object greater than has ever yet been *accomplished* even by Great Britain. I trust that in such a state of things the Parliament of United Britain will prove itself worthy of the Sovereign whom it serves, worthy of the people whom it represents, and worthy of the blessings of the great country in which they have the happiness to live.——He then moved his resolutions *pro forma*, which past without debate, discussion being reserved for a future stage of the proceeding.

The House having resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow, and the Committee to sit again on Wednesday.——The Committee of Supply was postponed till Wednesday.—A message from the Lords stated, that their Lordships had agreed to the Ordnance Lands Bill, and several private bills, without any amendment.—The Irish First Fruits Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed for Thursday next.—The House went into a Committee of the whole House on the East India Shipping Bill, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Hawkins Browne gave notice, that he should move in a Committee of Supply, on Wednesday, for a grant of money for the repair of the roads in Scotland. —The House adjourned.

## MILITARY.

The French army, under the command of GEN. MORTIER, on the 31st of May took their position in front of *Wechte*. The advanced guard of the Hanoverians, commanded by GEN. HAMMERSTEIN, occupied *Diepholtz*, with two regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and a division of artillery. From this place GEN. MORTIER immediately made preparations for dislodging them. GEN. SCHENER, with the second division was ordered to proceed against *Goldenstedt*, to force the passage of the *Hante*, which was guarded by the Hanoverians, and by directing his march to *Suhlingen*, to cut off all that were stationed between that place and *Diepholtz*, which GEN. MONTRICHARD received orders to attack. GEN. HAMMERSTEIN, finding his right turned by this movement, retreated during the night to *Borsten*; and on the *1st of June*, his rear guard had a sharp skirmish with the advanced guard of the enemy near *Bouver*. On the 2d he was attacked near *Borsten* by a detachment of the French army under GEN. DROUET, and after a heavy cannonade was compelled to fly. GEN. MORTIER then commenced his march towards *Nieuburg*. At *Suhlingen* he was met by a deputation from *Hanover*, imploring his clemency, and having concluded a convention (see p. 900) he entered *Nieuburg*, where he found 14,000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of artillery. The French issued orders for seizing all shipping in the ELBE and the WESER.

General MURAT set out on the 18th ult. from *Milan*, for the army on the frontiers of the Ecclesiastical States, which was destined to advance into the Neapolitan territory. The army of the Italian Republic was to be augmented to 60,000 men.

## NAVAL.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

*May* 29.—*Capt. Wallis*, in the *Naiad*, captured the French national corvette *L'Impatient*, *Capt. Arnous*, of 20 guns and 80 men, from Senegal to Rochfort.—*May* 31.—*Capt. Wallis* captured the French merchant ship *Le Chasseur*, *Capt. Lamar*, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, &c. from St. Domingo to L'Orient.—*June* 1.—*Lieut. Senhouse*, in the *Hind* revenue cutter, whilst cruising off Portland, captured the French privateer *La Felicité*, with 22 men; the French merchant brig *Le Charles*, laden with ship timber, from Rouen to Rochfort; a Dutch galliot, laden with salt, from Portugal to Rotterdam; and a Dutch Indiaman, laden with cotton and coffee, from Surinam.—*June* 9. The *Boadicea* captured a French armed brig, with 27 men; 11 days from St. Maloes.

### TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

SIR,—Towards the close of your Budget speech, that speech on which I am about to make a few remarks, you are pleased to describe yourself as being "an *insignificant* "person;" but, though I can have little objection to acknowledge the accuracy of this description, as far as it may apply to your birth, qualities, and talents, yet, when I behold you giving up, for the sake of *peace* and *œconomy* a long list of great and invaluable conquests, purchased with the blood and treasure of the country; when I behold you, at the end of nine months breaking that peace, and imposing on us annually twelve millions of additional taxes, for the purpose of retaining only *one* out of those numerous conquests, after having surrendered all the rest to the enemy; when, I behold you wallowing in the wealth, strutting in the domains, bestowed on you by that Sovereign, whom the keeping of you in place has already cost a part of his dominions; when, in spite of all the insults and injuries you have brought upon your king

and his people, and of the miseries and horrors that your administration, if it continue, will inevitably bring upon them; when, in spite of all this, I behold you supported by a dead majority in both Houses of Parliament, I cannot doubt but I shall be excused for thinking you not too insignificant to be the object of this address.

The *Budget* which you have opened to the Parliament, and which is, perhaps, better worthy of that name than any thing of the kind ever before exhibited, naturally calls for some remarks from me, who, at the time when the nation was drunk with joy on account of the "blessings of peace," told you, not only that the peace could not last, but, that "*the interval between the wars would "create the necessity for sacrifices such as the "people never before heard of.*" The London news-papers do, for the most part, I perceive, practice great forbearance towards you. The enormous taxes, now proposed, they acquiesce in, with very little complaining; because they are partakers with you in the guilt of the peace, which alone has produced the necessity of those taxes, and because, too, they are fully persuaded, that the collection of them will soon be rendered unnecessary by another regicide peace, which they think, with me, you are ready to make, the moment a fair opportunity shall offer. From me, however, who own not one particle of the crime of making or approving of the peace, you have no right to reckon on this sort of fellow feeling; from me you have nothing to expect but those reproaches which are due from a man who loves his country to a minister who has ruined it.

Your plan of finance is objectionable, first, because it will fail of its immediate object. Your taxes will not, I am persuaded, produce any thing near what they are estimated at; and, if they should, the amount will fall greatly short of the expenditure of the war. Then as to the principle, it may, in a *pecuniary* point of view, be good, sometimes, but not always: to *begin* a funding system, and to continue such a system when begun, are measures widely different from each other; and, *politically* considered, to raise the whole of the supplies within the year, during war, while there is, at the same time, an immense sum to pay in the shape of interest of the national debt, is a plan which seems calculated for the express purpose of producing an irresistible opposition to the very object it is intended to accomplish. If enormous taxes, pecuniary burthens almost unbearable, are laid upon the people, accompanied with a promise, that they shall be taken off at the expiration of six months after the termination of the war, will not the people hate the war? Will they not wish it at an end? Will they not ask for peace, peace on any terms? If you mean, as I suppose you do, to negotiate the next peace as well as the last, you have assuredly fallen upon an infallible mode of providing before-hand the means of securing an unanimous approbation of the treaty, even though its conditions should resemble those, which have lately been accepted by the "*safe* politicians" composing the Regency of Hanover, who, by the by, appear to me to be most worthy coadjutors of you and your colleagues, and who have, in fact, done no more than follow up the principles, on which the peace of Amiens was made.

The nature of taxes themselves is of little consequence. If they are wanted and are productive, they can scarcely be bad, unless the collection of them be tyrannical or vexatious. On this latter score only it is that I could have wished not to see that set of little despotic inquisitors, the commissioners of income-tax, revived; for, while this species of oppression exists, to talk about freedom, and about fighting for freedom too, is a most mortifying mockery. Every thing that is *visible* is a fair object of taxation; to pry into a man's secrets is not fair. This, however, would be bearable, could the inquisitorial powers be confined to a few great persons, far removed from the sphere of the party with respect to whom the inquest is made; but to set a man's neighbours to dive into his secrets, to arm them with legal authority to perform this act of scandalous and odious persecution; yet this, even this, might be borne, were it not accompanied with the insulting assertion, of its being absolutely necessary for the *preservation of his freedom!*

As to the tax upon the *funds*, the object is visible; to make good the collection demands no disclosure of those secrets, which a man wishes to keep from all the world; but, whether the impost be just or not is a question which depends upon the result of another question, to wit, *whether the tax is necessary to the existence of the state.* I observe, that you speak with great tenderness on this subject. You seem to imagine, that the world will regard this direct tax upon the public funds as a direct and flagrant *breach of national faith*, which it most assuredly is, unless the previous question of absolute necessity can be clearly made out.—The agreement with the stockholders is, that they shall receive such and such dividends, "*subject to no deduction whatever.*" For the punctual adherence to this bargain the faith of the nation is pledged. On that faith it is, that thousands and hundreds of thousands of persons have deposited their all

in the hands of government. But, the first law of every land, the first duty of those who administer the government, is, to secure the *existence of the state.* This law of self-preservation supersedes every other law; and, therefore, if a tax upon the funds has this sanction, it stands in need of no other. The tax is, in that case, no breach of national faith; because, to constitute such breach, the nation must want the *will* to futfil its engagements, and, it never can be said to want the will, if it has already gone as far as it can go without producing its own destruction as a state. Many other arguments suggest themselves in support of this position; but, if the case of necessity exists, what I have said already, Sir, sufficiently justifies the tax, and, if the necessity does not exist, all that can possibly be urged by the most ingenious reasoner, will fall far short of producing conviction. With you, therefore, Sir, it rests to show, that this dire necessity does exist; and, while you are about it, you may also show us *whence it has arisen*, and who has been the cause of it.——Some persons affect to regard the five per cent. to be deducted from the dividends, as a tax upon *income*, and not a tax upon the funds. This distinction is, I imagine, too puerile to deceive any one for the space of five minutes. Every tax that you can name is ultimately a tax upon income; because it is from income that all taxes are paid. But, this tax upon the funds is levied immediately upon the commodity itself, and the Bank, which is now become a formidable rival of the Custom House and the Excise Office, will continue so as long as the name of stock exists within its walls, which, if we are to be preserved, will, I think, be about four or five years.

The *loan*, which you have made, does, I must confess, surprize me. I did not think, that there were to be found any persons, possessed of considerable property, so totally void of reason, as to suppose, that the government, in your hands, would ever be able to make good its engagements of any sort; and, I did say, that those who should make you another loan, would deserve to die in a work-house, a fate, which, if appearances are not fallacious, may probably befal many of the present holders of omnium, which, in the space of four days has fallen to a discount of 4 per centum. You *boasted* of the terms of this loan, Sir, and expressed your confident expectation, that they would "turn out advantageous to the "contractors, because the House must be "sorry, when *honourable* and *public-spirited* "men, who come forward to assist the nation, suffer any loss from their *zeal* to *promote its service!*" Your candour, Sir, is almost proverbial, and, therefore, I wonder, that you should not have informed these honourable and public-spirited men, that they were bidding for the loan under very false impressions; I wonder that you had not told them, that the messenger who came on Sunday, instead of bringing pacific news from the Grand Mediator, brought an account of the subjugation of his Majesty's German dominions. You *knew*, that the biddings for the loan were made under the former persuasion; to what, then, are we to ascribe your hope that the contractors would derive benefit from it? Think not, however, that I pity the loan-jobbers. If your character of them and their motives be truly drawn, they stand in need of no consolation: on the contrary, such public-spirited men, who come forward "to *assist the nation*," must feel gratified at having had so fair an opportunity of "*promoting its service*;" and, give me leave to think, Sir, that it must have wounded the feelings of these honourable and disinterested Jews to talk about their "*suffering* from any loss" that might arise from their zealous endeavours. To be serious, Sir, what would you say, if the stock, which is to form the payment of this loan, should be at a discount of 20 per centum? What would you say, if the loan should never be paid in to the Exchequer? I do not positively assert, that either of these will be the case; but, if you continue minister, it is right that the country should be prepared of some such mishap: the whole of the paper fabrick begins to shake in your unsteady hands: there wants nothing but a sudden gust to shiver it to atoms.——Let the widows, the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the helpless stockholders of every description, take care: let them beware in time.

The *Sinking Fund* is, it seems, to be kept up in all its glory, and *no addition whatever* is to be made to the Public Debt, during the war, be its duration ever so protracted! How is this to be, Sir? You estimate (much below what will be found necessary) the annual supplies for the war at £26,000,000. All this, say you, is to come out of the taxes raised during the year, except about £6,000,000, which is to be obtained by a loan annually made to that amount; but, as the debt annually created by these loans, will be no greater in amount than the part of the Public Debt bought up annually by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, *the loans will make no addition to the debt!* It is, I think, impossible that you should not perceive the fallacy of this state-

ment. What becomes of the part of the Public Debt bought up by the Commissioners? What, Sir, becomes of the stock so bought up? Why, it is carried to the account of the nation; it becomes the property of the nation; the nation annually receives the dividends on it, but *it first raises the money to pay those dividends.* And what becomes of the dividends, after the nation has thus received them from itself? Why, they are disposed of in the buying up of more stock, in order that the nation may have an increase of dividends, which, like the former, are to be paid by itself to itself; and thus the delusive wirligig goes on, but without ever lessening the Public Debt in the amount of one single penny.——If, indeed, the stock bought up by the Commissioners were destroyed; if, when so bought up, it instantly *ceased to exist,* as nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people imagine it does, then your statement would be fair; but, while it is in existence, and while the people have regularly to pay taxes to discharge the dividends on it, where is the difference whether the said stock be called the property of individuals or the property of the nation? Where is the difference, as to the £6,000,000, to be annually borrowed, whether the interest of it be paid to individuals or to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund? So that it must be paid by the people, where is the difference to them whether it be paid on the right hand or on the left?—Another question brings your statement to the test. You say, there will be no increase to the debt during the war, because stock, equal in amount to that which is created by the annual loan of £6,000,000, will be annually bought up by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. Now, then, Sir, if this be really so, why not take the produce of the Sinking Fund, during the war, and appropriate it to the public use, instead of a loan to the same amount? Would not this be much more simple and satisfactory than the round-about operation of first making a loan of £6,000,000, with all the Jewish cant of biddings and bonuses and premiums and discounts, and, after having borrowed the money, paying it to the Commissioners, in the shape of an annual grant of £1,200,000, dividends on stock purchased up, and an annual one per centum on capitals created since 1793? If your Sinking Fund yields you £6,000,000, annually, why not take this £6,000,000 for public use, instead of first borrowing a like sum, and then paying that like sum off with the £6,000,000, produced by the Sinking Fund? Oh, no! "that would *alarm* people; that would *shake public credit.*" This, then, is the touch-stone of the system: to continue the operation of the Sinking Fund *we must go on paying interest on all the stock bought up, and to be bought up, by the Commissioners*; if, therefore, this continuation be absolutely necessary to the *preservation of public credit*, that credit must be destroyed, unless we continue to pay, as we now do, interest *on all the stock that ever was created.* When and how, then, is the debt to experience that *diminution*, with which, Sir, you thought proper to amuse the tame and stupid crowd, who were listening to you from the galleries? No, no, Sir; it is not in this Sinking Fund; it is not in this system of paying taxes in order to purchase stock for ourselves, and then to raise other taxes in order to pay the interest of that stock to ourselves; it is not in this shifting from one pocket to the other; it is not in a set of legerdemain tricks worthy of Bartholomew Fair; it is not here that we are to look for relief, but it is in your *tax upon the Funds*; or, in other words, in that admirable *sponge*, which you are now about to apply to *one twentieth part of the debt.* This, as Sir Walter Reighleigh said when he was approaching the City of St. Thomas, "this is the true mine, my lads, and he's a "fool that expects to find riches from any "other!" This, to use your own words applied to the Sinking Fund, "this is an ope-"ration which carries with it the singular "advantage of *executing its purposes for our* "*relief in proportion to our pressure*;" for, the more expensive the war, the heavier, of course, will be the tax upon the Funds; and as all that part which becomes tax will no longer be debt, our relief will, as you truly observe, be expedited by our pressure! But, say the wiseacres of the City, there is none of the debt *sponged* off by this tax, which, however heavy it may become, will take only the *interest*, leaving the *principal* totally untouched; to which sapient observation you will, doubtless, reply, that, if they will but let you take the interest, they are perfectly welcome to do what they please with the principal. In short, Sir, that man must be afflicted with insanity or judicial blindness, who does not perceive, that to impose a direct tax of 5 per cent. upon the Funds is to wash away a twentieth part of the debt, which consists of those funds. You have, by calling this an *income* tax, a tax on *property*, &c. &c. succeeded in producing a confusion of ideas in the minds of the people, who, viewing the matter in the light in which you have placed it, seem to forget, that the tax on income and property is drawn from something which the party already has in his possession, whereas the

tax on the Funds is, in fact, *a portion of a debt due to him*, but which he has not received, and of which debt the State *is now about to pay him nineteen shillings in the pound.* And very good payment it is. It were to be wished, that every Bankrupt would pay 19s. in the pound; and, if you should not make that rate good upon the principal, you have shown the honesty of your intention, by making it good upon the interest.—The truth is, Sir, and, if you have common sense, it is a truth that you must perceive, —the National Debt has arrived at that point, beyond which it cannot go, and, that terrific bugbear, a *National Bankruptcy*, the fear of seeing which has made this country submit to every species of wrong and of disgrace, is now actually making its appearance, unaccompanied with any of the dreadful effects, which base and interested men have endeavoured to persuade us it would inevitably produce. This measure of taxing the funds, alias paying nineteen shillings in the pound on the interest, this year, in order to pave the way for the total, and the only practicable, extinction of the public debt, has my unqualified applause; because, I am fully persuaded, that either that debt, or the independence of this nation, must be speedily destroyed. A small public debt is no harm to any country, nor, merely in a *pecuniary* point of view, is a large one, or even an enormous one, any harm; but, not so in its *political* effects: there a great public debt, is a tremendous evil. This distinction, which has, within the last ten years, been so fatally illustrated in England, has, however, been too little attended to. Mr. Pitt saw the navigation, the commerce, the manufactures, all increase as the debt increased; the land became, year by year, better cultivated, the houses, the roads, the carriages, the clothing and food of the people, all grew finer and better; but, he did not perceive, that the wealth of the country, while it was, in consequence of having assumed a moveable quality, extending the commercial means and multiplying the comforts and elegancies of life, was, at the same time, from the same cause, and in the same degree, producing political decay: he did not perceive, that when a vast portion of the public property had so changed its nature as always to be instantly affected by political events, and always to bear, in value, an inverse proportion to the warlike exertions necessary to the honour and safety of the state; he does not seem to have perceived, that when the public debt had wrought this change in the interests and feelings of men, the state must of necessity fall, or the debt be annihilated. Such, however, is now the fact; and, the only objection I have to your statement, is, the miserable delusion, which you still attempt to keep up, and which, if your attempt succeed, can be attended with no possible good, while it may do infinite mischief. Proceeding upon the maxim of Mr. Pitt, you represent our public debt as "*the best ally of the* "*enemy*;" and, therefore, say you, we will let the enemy see—What? Not that we are about to crush and annihilate this his "*best* "*ally*," but that we are going to raise the taxes within the year, in order to refrain from adding any more strength to this ally. But, Sir, I am happy to perceive, that, while you are talking of this foolish plan, while you really think you have adopted it, you are actually proceeding upon a wise one; that, while you think you are propping up the funds, you are, in truth, undermining their foundation.——Shall I be told, that I am here expressing a wish to see the *credit* of my country destroyed? Very like I may, but, Sir, far different are my wishes. I wish to see its true credit restored, by the annihilation of its false credit; I wish to see honourable sentiments succeed to selfishness and cowardice; and, if I am told of the miseries that this measure will bring upon those who are so unfortunate as to be stockholders, I deny that they will be a hundredth part so great as is generally imagined; because, as the extinction will not be effected all at once, people will sell out, in proportion as their apprehensions increase, and as those who have nothing but the funds to depend upon will be most timid, they will sell first: so that, at the "close of "the *market*," a market which, I trust, will never again be opened, the loss will be found to be pretty fairly distributed. Be the miseries, however, arising from this source, what they may, they certainly are inevitable; for, if the debt be not, somehow or other, annihilated, the nation must be enslaved, and then the annihilation comes of course. Horrid, therefore, as the sound of National Bankruptcy is to the ears of the selfish and the foolish, it must be borne; and their only alternative is, bankruptcy and freedom, or bankruptcy and slavery. This is what you should have told them, Sir: this would have discouraged the enemy a thousand times more than all your flattering prospects of commercial wealth, which wealth, were it a hundred-fold greater than it is, he well knows to be of no avail, as long as there exists a cause which impels so large a portion of the people to cry for peace on any terms.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

*Duke Street, Westminster, June 15th* 1803.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

HANOVER.—The reader will, doubtless, recollect, that, last week, while the newspaper editors circulated intelligence of the French troops having been stopped on the confines of the electorate, in consequence of remonstrances on the part of Russia and Prussia, and while the same sort of delusive nonsense was found placarded up, à la bulletin, at the gossiping places of the small politicians, we were giving it as our opinion, that no such remonstrance had taken place, and that the French were, at that moment in possession of Hanover, which she would "not only "plunder of its moveables, but would "confiscate all the public buildings, lands, "and other property, and would finally "sell the whole of it by auction." Sorry are we to perceive from GENERAL MORTIER's dispatches (1), that we were so very near the truth. Hanover is, as we before observed, a rich prize. The estates of the House of Brunswick-Lunenberg are immense; the population of the electorate amounts to nearly a million of souls, and its net annual revenue is about 10,000,000 of rixdollars; but the part of the prize which the French most esteem, that which they are most in want of, and which they have seized on with the greatest joy and avidity, is, the *horses*, of which the electorate contains from thirty to forty thousand, fit for military service. — The proclamation of General Mortier, which we inserted in our last (2), breathes a little of the revolutionary spirit, and the terms of the convention are worded so nearly like those made by the marauders of the Directory, that one would almost think Mortier had borrowed a specimen from the history of Buonaparté's Italian campaign. Upon reading these public papers, how sweet to the supporters of the ministers must be the recollection of their assertions, at the time of the peace, relative to the disposition of France. Lord Hawkesbury said the French Government had "*publicly asked pardon of* "*God and man.*" (3) All of them were full of praises of the reformation produced in France, and that very sapient personnage, Lord Castlereagh, stated, that so far were the people of that country from harbouring any wild schemes of subverting our government, that "they considered it "*as a model*, and *felt for us that deference and* "*respect* which it was usual to entertain "under their ancient government."!!!! (4) General Edward Mortier does, however, talk most fluently of liberating the people of Hanover from a government which tramples under foot "all the principles of "the *rights of man*," and the Moniteur contains a very elaborate dissertation, the object of which is to prove, that the Hanoverians "*ought no longer to submit to their ty-* "*rants.*" This is the old style certainly, and, as Mr. Windham predicted at the time of the treaty, though Buonaparté is the enemy of Jacobins in France, he is the partizan of Jacobins out of France. There is no possibility of being angry, however, with the consul or his general: they are labouring in their vocation; and, with respect to Russia and Prussia, what right have we to complain of their conduct, as to any part of Germany? What right have we to talk of the treaty of Luneville, we, who have declared, that this country had nothing at all to do with that treaty? No; we looked quietly on, and saw the empire of Germany new-parcelled out: we never even remonstrated on the subject: we had made peace, and that peace was not, we said, to be disturbed for the sake of the continent: our maxim was to "*keep ourselves* "*to ourselves:*" and, now, behold, now that, in spite of all our baseness, we are forced into war again; now we are calling to the powers of the continent to interfere in our behalf!

THE KING OF SARDINIA.—The charge against our ministers, relative to this unfortunate monarch, has been, we perceive, since our last, brought forward by the Moniteur with still more seriousness than before. What we quoted then was from certain notes on the English parliamentary debates; but we now refer to an answer to the declaration laid before parliament on the 18th of May, which answer is very full on every point of complaint, and particularly on that which relates to the King of Sardinia. This answer is a very important publication: we shall examine it part by part, hereafter. In the mean time, we are sorry that the ministers use no means to contradict the statement respecting the King of Sardinia, which, if true, must sink this country to the lowest degree of infamy. Mr. Pitt, in defending the peace, said, "we *ought* to have restored the King "of Sardinia if we could, but that we "could not do it." The French say, that we *might* have done it, but that we *would not*, unless we could have done it without giving up Ceylon or Trinidada. And yet we have the conscience to look to the Continent for allies, and to Russia above all other powers, Russia who has always desired to see a provision made for the King of Sardinia!

GARBLED PAPERS.—In our preceding sheets, p. 821 and 886, we mentioned some of the principal circumstances relative to the

(1) See present sheet, p. 899. (2) See p. 867.
(3) See Reg. Vol. II. p. 1249. (4) Ibid, p. 1331.

garbling of the public papers laid before Parliament on the 18th of May. The charge is now, we think, fully established, with this addition, that the note of Count Alexander Woronzow, dated Petersburgh, 12th November, 1802, was also left out in the papers presented to Parliament. This was a very important note, because on it turned the whole of the negotiation respecting Malta, as far as Russia was concerned. In short, the keeping back of this note, together with the suppression of part of Lord Whitworth's note of the 10th of May, and the keeping back of Talleyrand's note of the 12th of May, all of them relating to the guarantee of Russia, and, indeed, clearly showing, that that guarantee might have been obtained, and that the want of it was only a pretext; this suppression, this shameful garbling, fully proves the insincerity of the ministers as to the cause of their retaining Malta.——We beg our readers to recollect, too, that, in laying the Maltese papers before the Parliament, they have, as we observed in our last number, withheld the *remonstrance*, which was the principal paper; though, by the negotiations at Amiens, an account of which Buonaparté has been so obliging as to publish, we perceive, that Lord Cornwallis produced this very paper *as a proof of the impossibility of restoring the Island of Malta to the Knights!* Why, then, was not this remonstrance communicated to Parliament amongst the other papers? It was called for. Mr. Canning moved for *all* these papers, and not for a part of them. But, the truth is, that the ministers give what they please and withhold what they please. They fear no responsibility. Mr. Pitt, after having done as much mischief as he could himself; after having broken down and subdued the parliament, put it under the insolent tyranny of his creatures, to whom he himself is now become an underling.

WAR OF NECESSITY.—When we hear the ministry calling on the nation for sacrifices and exertions never before heard or dreamt of, when we see a budget planning the collection of 12 millions of new taxes to be raised annually, and when we have the prospect of seeing a military conscription, in virtue of which Englishmen will be placed in nearly the same situation that Frenchmen now are; when we hear, see, and anticipate, all this, we feel that it is all necessary, but we are, however, naturally led to ask the cause of it, and the wise Chancellor of the Exchequer gives us the answer. "The present contest is for the existence of this "country as a free state, and the question "*now* is, whether we shall maintain that "existence, or whether we shall abandon "the people of this land a prey to the "French, whether Great Britain shall continue her power and estimation in the "scale of nations, or make an item in the "catalogue of the conquests of France"—Very well: this is the cause of all our sacrifices and all our alarm. But, how comes this cause to exist now in a degree so much more great and fearful than before the conclusion of the last war? That war, with all our conquests in our hands, was going on without demanding any new and unheard-of sacrifices; that war, which was put an end to for the purpose of *husbanding our resources* and *providing for our security*, was going quietly on without any tax upon the funds, without turning the Bank into an excise-office, and without a military conscription.—We have had 381 days of peace, during which we have been more than 381 times reminded of its blessings, and particularly of its œconomy. Seeing, then, that the sapient Chancellor of the Exchequer, the disinterested Richmond Park minister, the clean-handed prosecutor of the Plymouth Tinker, has been all this while husbanding our resources, and seeing, that he has constantly asserted that those resources have been upon the increase from the hour the peace was made; seeing all this one is impelled to ask, why *this war* should require sacrifices beyond all proportion *greater than those required by the last?* The answer is ready: the peace, the foolish, the disgraceful, and infamous peace of Amiens, has greatly changed our situation relative to that of our enemy; has made us much weaker and him much stronger.——"The peace," said Lord Castlereagh, "has been made *on principles of our "own security*, and, therefore, I think that ministers were right in not regarding the encroachments of France, upon the Continent, between the "Preliminary and Definitive Treaty, as sufficient "cause to break off the negotiation."—Where is the *security*, then? In the military conscription? Is that the security which it has brought us?—"We have gained the hearts of the people. We have gained Mr. Tierney and Mr. Sheridan, the latter of whom will fight the French *single-handed*?" Why, then, talk of a military conscription? Why afraid? You were not so afraid before the peace of Amiens took place. We had been at war nine years, without any assistance from the single-handed exertions of Mr. Sheridan, before that infamous peace was made, and the French never went to Hanover, never shut up the Elbe or the Weser during the whole time. These fatal steps, therefore, are owing, not to the war simply considered, but to the war *as growing out of the Peace of Amiens*.——And, shall not the makers of that peace be responsible for the measure? And shall they be allowed to conduct a new war, merely because they are likely to surpass all others in the baseness necessary to obtain another peace?—— Such a nation, we seriously repeat it, such a nation must, and will, and ought to perish.

☞ Our Correspondents shall be attended to next week. We regret that we could not insert the first excellent article entire.

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